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and Eastern Highlands respectively. This classification does 101
not correspond to any definite linguistic or ethnological division. But the geographical division through the Daryal Pass, and the historical causes which have associated the western tribes with the Black Sea region and the eastern tribes with the Caspian and Kur Valley, may justify a classification in other respects arbitrary. The western tribes, popularly called Cherkesses,[1] or Circassians, occupied the triangle between Taman, the sources of the Kuban and the Terek and the upper reaches of the Kodor. Generically they were divided into the Adigé, occupying the Black Sea Coast from Anapa to Gagri and the hinterland to the Kuban; the Kabardans, settled on the highlands lying along the upper courses of the Kuban and the Baksan Rivers, and along the left bank of the Terek; and the Abkhazes, divided into the Abazekhs and the Abkhaz, who inhabited the coast from Gagri to Sukhum, and the hinterland as far as the sources of the Kodor. The inaccessible nature of the country, with its dangerous coast, its impenetrable forests and marshes, and its impassable mountains, cut by more than sixty streams falling into the Black Sea, made all communications difficult, and tended to isolate small communities from their neighbours. Here existed a number of tribes speaking different and progressively varying dialects, who were mutually hostile or allied in the waging of perpetual feuds, and whose culture developed with little incentive to change, no occasion for innovation, and rare influence from without.

The coastal valleys formed the natural settlements and the mountains the natural frontiers. The chief tribes of the Adigé were the Chegaki (sailors) of the coast between Anapa and Sunjuk, the Natu Khajis (villages of Natu), who occupied the territory north-eastwards to the left bank of the Kuban; and the Chapsughs (breeders of horses), stretching, with some smaller tribes, as far as Gagri. Lesser tribes occupied the northern slopes of the Caucasus as far as the Kuban.

The social organisation of all the Cherkess tribes was on an 565
elaborate feudal basis; a system had developed which rigidly divided the people into five classes: the princes (*pcheh* or *pchi*), who exercised tribal regal power; the nobles (*work*), who formed a few powerful families of almost equal rank with the pcheh; the freedmen, who had bought their liberty, and whose descendants could by merit acquire the rights of nobles; the serfs, who could own cattle and land of their own, who

[1] A suggested derivation of the name is from the Turkish *cher* (road) and *kesmek* (cut), signifying brigands (Chantre iv, 111).

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565 had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real [642] authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

181 The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, 871 but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

101 The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian [633] tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tatar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

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NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION, 1811–1917

THE tendencies and results, good and bad, of the Russian system are demonstrated in the history of Russian rule in the Caucasus. The Russians at the beginning of the nineteenth century assumed control of a country whose condition was possibly more anarchical than that of any other part of Asia, whose population was being gradually exterminated by war, plague and famine, whose political organisation and culture had almost collapsed into utter ruin and whose economic possibilities had been completely neglected.

Firstly they gave to the Transcaucasus a military security which it had never before enjoyed. For a hundred years no hostile army approached Tiflis. Consequently it may be claimed that the Russian régime not only gave to the Georgians and Armenians the possibility of developing national prosperity in peace, but preserved those peoples from the virtual extinction which has been the fate of the Armenians and other Christian races whose country lies beyond the Russian borders.

Secondly, Russian rule tended to improve the condition of the individual. The aristocracy, who during the period of Persian hegemony had led lives of idle luxury and undignified subservience to their Mussulman lords, found careers, which were at least healthier and wider, in service in the Russian Army and Civil Service. The peasants, whose lot still left much to be desired, gained on the one hand by the abolition of serfdom within the Russian Empire (1864), on the other by the increased prosperity which followed the development of communications, the establishment of schools and the introduction of modern methods of agriculture. And there developed a prosperous middle-class, for the most part Armenian and Russian, whose political rôle in the Caucasus became increasingly important.

Lastly, the peace imposed by Russian arms permitted the development of the economic resources of the country, with its subsequent general increase of prosperity and population.

But the inherent shortcomings of Russian rule were productive of grave troubles. The administrative policy was one of centralisation. Until 1882 the Caucasus was ruled by a Viceroy nominated by the Tsar and possessing supreme civil

C. A. 608 way, though all the members of a clan claim a common descent from the same ancestor, this descent is largely fictitious.

C. G. 565 642 Clans naturally differed in size and wealth, and this led in many parts of the Caucasus to a differentiation of classes and to a feudal structure of the society (Kabarda; lower regions of Dagestan). In Transcaucasia there was a further development into feudal C. G. 619 monarchies (Georgia, Armenia). The original tribal structure was best preserved among the Georgian highlanders, the Svan, some of the W. Circassian tribes, the Ossetes, the Chechen and Ingush, and the tribes in the higher parts of Dagestan. For instance, the Pshav tribe (dziri, lit. "root") is divided into eleven clans (temi); the members of each clan bear the same name, but in everyday life are known under a second family name (gvari) derived from the proper name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. If a family expanded, C. G. 565 new surnames were adopted. Where a differentiation of classes took place, the general pattern was the following. The upper class consisted of the nobility, in its turn subdivided into various ranks in the regions with more pronounced feudal traits (Georgia, Kabarda). The lower class consisted of the peasants; here too, a further stratification existed, depending on differences in degree of economic C. G. [567] and personal freedom. The lowest classes were the slaves; mostly prisoners of war. In

C. G. 565 Georgia the various grades of the clergy corresponded to the ranks of the nobility, the head of the church (Katholikos) being equal to the king. As to the functions of the different classes, Kabardian society may serve as an example. The function of the highest class, the princes, was to defend their subjects and to provide leadership in wars and predatory incursions into the territory of neighboring tribes (and in the nineteenth century, especially into that of the Russians); such raids were part of the everyday life of most N. Caucasian mountaineers. The representatives of the second class, the nobles, were always at the disposal of their prince, assisted him in his daily activities, accompanied him on his raids, and in general carried out his orders. They could also be called upon to provide the prince with cattle, corn, or other goods, and such a request could not be refused. When a prince died and left several sons, each of the nobles declared himself a subject of the one of his choice. Part of the production of the peasants belonged to the princes and nobles; the latter provided their subjects with draft animals, agricultural implements, and feed-corn. In case of discontentment the nobles and also the free peasants could leave the territory of their lords and settle elsewhere. The slaves had no rights and owned no property, they were employed in the cultivation of the soil or in the domestic service of the princes and nobles and could be sold at will.

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After the incorporation of the various parts of the Caucasus into the Russian empire, slavery and serfdom were gradually abolished (second half of the nineteenth century). Before the revolution, the Russian hold on the Caucasus depended to a large extent on the nobility (whose ranks, in Georgia as well as in the N. Caucasus, were put on a par with the Russian); after the revolution, of course, an appeal was made to the lower classes.

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EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

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As everywhere, education in the Caucasus aimed at developing those traits in the children which were part of the national cultural ideal. In the whole N. Caucasus and in Georgia, great stress was laid on the development of character (courage, stamina, loyalty, modesty, but also self-assertion and vengefullness) and on good manners (especially in the N. W. Caucasus there was a complex and rigid code of behavior). The education consisted further in instruction in the use of arms and in horsemanship. Among the mountaineers it had definite Spartan characteristics, e. g. the Khevsur put burning wicks or glowing coals on the hands of their children to harden them against pain and to test their stamina. Stress was also laid on the ability to express oneself well and to the point, and to make speeches at various occasions. In Georgia, among the higher classes, there was a native tradition of training in the arts and sciences, the centers of which originally were the monasteries. In the N. Caucasus such a tradition did not exist, though there were Moslem schools (medrese) giving instruction in religion and some arithmetic, and also Russian schools, founded after the subjugation. Before the revolution, the higher classes sent their children to Russian cultural centers to complete their education. Many chose a

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military career, as the qualities required there were most in conformity with the ideals handed down by native tradition.

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Among the higher classes in the N. W. Caucasus, the usage was to have their children brought up in a family of a lower class; this custom also existed among Western Georgian nobles in imitation of Circassian usage. Even before the birth of the child the aspirants vied with each other for the honor of being its atalyk (foster parent). The atalyk acquired all the rights of blood relationship; the ward upon completion of his education was naturally more attached to his foster parents than to his own, and could be counted on to avenge any harm done to his educators.

595 pressly recognized as lawful as early as the composition of the Mâṭigân-ī-Hazâr Dâṭistân.[17a]

[101] On the southern slopes of the Caucasus, in high isolated valleys, we find the GEORGIAN mountain tribes, the Khevsurs, Tushi, Pshavs and Svans, who, owing to their isolation, have preserved the ancient Georgian culture better by far than their brothers in the lowlands, and therefore, when speaking of the Georgians, we shall limit ourselves as much as possible to these four tribes.[17aa]

Formerly plural marriages were of frequent occurrence in *Khevsuria*. "In former times," writes Nansen, "polygyny was general," or in the words of the original, "war früher an der Tagesordnung."[18] By "formerly" we mean before the conversion of the Khevsurs to the Orthodox Church.[19] But a deeply ingrained customary law cannot be easily "repealed" and such is the case in Khevsuria in regard to the right of having more than one wife; for, even today, although rarely, some Khevsurs still insist on marrying several women.[20] The *Svans* are "monogamists" but, like the Khevsurs, they gave

[584] up plural marriages only after their conversion to Christianity. They are monogamists officially and economically, but, like the Khevsurs, they are sexually polygamous: in order to evade the law of the Church, the Khevsurs and the Svans introduced extremely easy divorce, a form of *successive* polygamy. Divorce is so frequent and easy (almost an annual affair) that we hesitate to call it monogamy.[21] G. Radde, in his monograph on the Khevsurs, claimed that many had been divorced and remarried ten times before they were 35 years of age.[22]

And now if we pass on to the non-Caucasian neighbours of the North Caucasian tribes, we find that the Mohammedan as well as the Christian OSSETES countenance polygyny, but as elsewhere it is rare, as rare as wealth.[23]

[585] As a rule, only the two highest classes, the princes and the *aldârs* could afford more than one wife. In fact, there are even special *adats* which seem to reserve the privilege for these classes.[24]

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus have had a great share in the moulding of modern Caucasian culture and consequently demand our consideration.

Vambéry in his *Die primitive Kultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes* (pp. 71 f) assures us that not even the slightest traces of polygyny can be found among the primitive Turco-Tartars. In fact their language lacks such terms as "secondary wife," "bastard," and "prostitution."[25]

[17a] *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, p. 745.

[17aa] The Svans are "Georgians" only in a broad sense of the word, meaning "South Caucasians."

[18] F. Nansen, *Through the Caucasus to the Volga*, p. 58; *Durch den Kaukasus zur Wolga*, p. 39.

[19] G. Radde, *Die Chewsuren und ihr Land*, p. 90.

[20] C. Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 82; A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, p. 114. R. Eristov, "O Tulino-Plavo-Chevsurskom Okrugè," ZKO, III (1855), p. 113.

[21] F. Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, I, p. 282. N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. II, p. 109.

[22] Radde, *op cit.*, p. 113. Cf. R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, II, pp. 269 ff.

[23] Dubrovin, *op. cit.*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

[24] Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, a 40.

[25] Schmidt-Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 204.

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from polygyny is, above all, a shortage of rubles.[43] The same holds for the Avars,[44] and, as we learn from Sveščin,[45] for the other Lesghians as well: the economic factor plays an important part in making polygyny relatively rare. Klaproth found the institution a veritable luxury in Ossetia, being only for the richest of the rich,[46] in full harmony with the Ossetine *adats* which reserve the right for the two richest classes, the princes and the *aldars*.[47] Grabovskij's report[48] that even the *poor* Ingushi were polygamists we have partially explained by obligatory levirate, which was just as much obligatory for the rich as for the poor. Moreover social stratification (which generally coincides with wealth and poverty) was practically non-existent during Grabovskij's visit in Ingushetia (*infra*, pp. 60 f); therefore, if polygyny is to be found among the Ingushi at all, it must be found also among the "poor" class.

Easy divorce may do away with plural marriages as it did in Khevsuria and Svanetia, but in North Caucasia easy divorce plays only a very insignificant rôle compared with economic and biological factors.

§ 2. THE RULES OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

Lowie defines exogamy as "the rule which prescribes that an individual must find a mate outside of his own group, whether that group be the family, the village or some other social unit."[49] The opposite rule "which makes it compulsory for a man to mate within his group is labeled endogamy." Lowie rightly stresses that it is not the *de facto* marriage within one's own group but the *prohibition* of marrying outside it that constitutes endogamy.[50]

1. The Impediment of Consanguinity

Consanguineous marriages are strictly prohibited throughout NORTHWEST Caucasus. In his expedition of 1927 Ladyženskij ascertained that the reports of earlier writers about the abhorrence of incest among the tribes of Northwest Caucasia still exists today. Marriages between members of the same sib, regardless of the degree of remoteness, are considered incestuous.[51]

Among the NORTHEASTERN peoples the practice is not uniform. Ingushian adats are by far stricter than Islamic law in regard to marriages between

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[43] *ibid.*

[44] L'vov, "Domašnjaja i semejnaja žizn Dagestanskich gorcev avarskago plemeni," SSKG, III (1870), p. 20.

[45] D. Sveščin, "Očerk narodonaselenija nravov, i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[46] J. Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 249.

[47] Leontovič, *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, II, p. 12, § 10; p. 14, § 27; p. 16, § 40.

[48] "Ekonomičeskij i domašnij byt žitelej gorskago učastka inguševskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), p. 21.

[49] R. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 16.

[50] *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[51] J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, II, p. 9; Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.

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(4) The *atalyk* is a form of adoption once spread among all mountain tribes of North Caucasus,[92] the Ossetes,[93] the Tartars, e. g., the Kumyks.[94] We still find it today among the Kabardians, but the practice has become rare.[95] Soon after birth,[96] or, as some authors claimed, at the age of seven or twelve, the prince or princess is received into a noble family to be brought up by foster-parents. The prince is taught to ride, to be brave, eloquent and polite, and to steal. When he is old enough to carry arms, he returns to his father.[97] Princesses are usually poorly nourished, for slenderness may not be divorced from the dignity of a princess. She is taught by her foster-mother how to embroider, weave, make straw mats and baskets.[98] She may not be seen by her parents until her marriage, and it is the right of the foster-father to select a mate for her.[99] The *atalyk* is usually restricted to the upper classes,[100] the foster-parents being chosen from the next (lower) class.[101] The relation between the foster-child and the educator is as intimate and as sacred as actual blood-relationship, if indeed not more so. Sometimes a foster-child will take revenge on his own father to repair an injury done to his adopted family.[102] Marriage between the foster-child and a member of the educator's family are, of course, prohibited. We are unable to say to what degree: on the one hand, the older explorers failed to inquire into *adats* regarding this prohibition; while, on the other hand, the institution has practically disappeared, so that now it is impossible to ascertain the degree through new enquiries.[103] The *atalyk* is perhaps a pre-Islamic institution borrowed from the Turco-Mongols.

(5) We find several other forms of adoption in the Caucasus. Islamic law does not recognize any impediment arising from adoption, except, of course,

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[92] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.
M. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 191.

[93] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f, §§ 152—160.

[94] M. Kovalevskij, *l. c.*

[95] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[96] P. S. Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs 1793—1794*, I, p. 388;
J. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, Part I, p. 137;
J. Klaproth, "Voyage au Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, Tome XI, p. 170;
Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[97] Ellis, *Memoir of a Map etc.*, pp. 22 f; Pallas, *l. c.*

[98] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 389.

[99] Pallas, *op. cit.*, I, p. 388 f.

[100] Ladyženskij, *l. c.* Digorian *farsagleg* class (*infra*, pp. 63 f) has the custom too; cf. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 212 f.

[101] Leontovič, II, pp. 252 f., §§ 152—160.

[102] Ladyženskij, *l. c.*

[103] The *atalyk* was a means of reconciliation after a murder had been committed. The murderer would kidnap a child of the victim and become its foster-father, thus making revenge impossible. (Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 262; Ladyženskij, *l. c.*; Leontovič, I, p. 140; Dirr, AGKB, p. 43.) Reineggs however gives an example of such an adopted son who was constantly waiting for an opportunity to carry out his sacred obligation of vengeance, regardless of fosterage (*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, pp. 221 f.). For more about the *atalyk* see the authors cited and N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, pp. 120—125.

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582 597 relationship by milk. As is well known, Mohammed had an adopted son, his own emancipated slave named Zaid ibn Hâriṭah, who had a beautiful wife, at least beautiful in the eyes of the Prophet. Mohammed persuaded Zaid to divorce her and thus to make it possible for the Prophet to marry her. The faithful, however, were greatly scandalized, for the "sinless" Prophet married the wife of his "son". Mohammed seemed to have no way of extricating himself from this awkward position, but fortunately Allah had pity on him and favoured him with another revelation according to which all fosterage is sinful and non-existent. If anyone dares to call another person by the name of "father" and if that person did not actually beget him, he will infallibly be cursed by Allah and all His Angels.[104] In the Caucasus children are adopted and, as is the case with the Cherkess today, enjoy the full and equal rights of natural sons and daughters.[105] M. Kovalevskij found adoption in practice among the Ossetes. Here too the adopted son would be regarded as a true "son" who was able to perpetuate the family.[106] Formerly fictitious relationship could arise among the Cherkess by a mere pronouncement of the formula, "I adopt you," or "You are my daughter," or "You are my sister." From that moment the person adopted would have to consider the relatives of the person who pronounced the formula, as his own. A murderer could form a fictitious relationship in Ossetia by consecrating himself to his victim in a special ceremony at his grave.[107] Among the Ossetes adoption sometimes took place before the mother of the family. The person to be adopted would say to her, "From today on you are my mother; I am your son." The mother would then uncover her breast and answer, "I am your mother; you are my son."[108] As is only to be expected, adoption occurs very rarely, in fact only in extreme necessity to prevent extinction of the family. Adoption cannot be frequent because the mountaineers insist on purity of blood, and to adopt a child unnecessarily would imply giving away family property to a fictitious member.[109] Owing to the lack of data, we can only call the attention of the fieldworker to the following two problems: firstly, exactly *which* tribes consider adoption an impediment to mating; secondly, to which degree of fictitious relationship.

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4. Disparity of Social Rank

505 [582] We now come to the obligation of marrying exclusively within one's own social rank. But before we can begin to speak of this form of endogamy we must briefly describe the social stratification in the Caucasus.

The NORTHWESTERNERS. The *Abkhazian* society was formerly divided into four distinct classes: (1) the princes, (2) the *Chinakma*, i. e., the

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[104] Koran, xxxiii, 5. Cf. J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden, 1943, p. 64. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 187. R. Roberts, *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 39 ff.

[105] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 202.

[106] Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, p. 203.

[107] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[108] *ibid.*

[109] Kovalevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

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body-guards of the princes, (3) the nobility, (4) peasants, slaves, and prisoners of war.[110] 565

The haughtiest nobility of all Caucasia was that of the *Cherkess*.[111] Anyone seeking an example of Medieval feudalism at its height needs but study the reports about the Cherkess of about a hundred years ago. It was only in 1867 [566] that slavery and serfdom were abolished.

But not all Cherkess tribes were equally feudalistic. Thanks especially to the powerful aristocratic merchant class of the coastal tribes (the Shapsugs and Natukhai), feudalism disappeared in extreme western Circassia long before the Russians abolished it elsewhere in the Caucasus.[112] The Kabardians were of course the most feudalistic. "Endless is the list of Kabardian social ranks: ... They even have a code of laws, the *Adygé-Khabse*, which determines every step of the Kabardian lords, defining very exactly their rights and obligations toward the princes and toward the people." Four princely families ruled over Kabardia at the time of the Russian-Caucasian wars.[113]

This long list of Kabardian ranks may be summed up as follows:[114]

(1) The Princes,[115] also called *Bey*[116]

(2) The Nobility

(a) of the first order: *tlekotlesh*, i. e., "The Strong Generation"[117] or "*Uzden* of the First Class."[118]

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[110] E. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Kaukasus*, Vol. I, Part. II, p. 324.

[111] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die süd. Stth. d. russ. Reichs, etc.*, I, p. 369.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 188.
Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, pp. 192—216.

[112] Ladyženskij, "Zur Erforschung der Rechtsgewohnheiten der Bergvölker des Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XLII (1930), p. 242. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölker," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 46 f.

[113] Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 189, from whom the quotaiton is also taken.

[114] A. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), pp. 38—49.
Maslovskij, "Privillegirovannyja soslovija kabardinskago okruga," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—13 (This is the product of a special committe for collecting native laws in the Terek Territory, under the direction of Maslovskij.).
Leontovič, II, pp. 237—245, for the rights of the different classes. See also Leontovič, I, pp. 116, 223 f.
Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181.
Dirr, AGKB, p. 35, *note* 43.
Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, I, p. 249.
Klaproth, "Voyage au Mont Caucase," *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, XI, p. 172.

[115] Maslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VII (1931), p. 38.

[116] Reineggs, *l. c.*

[117] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 181. J. Castagné, "Le droit coutumier familial des montagnards du Caucase," *Revue des études islamiques*, 1929, No. 2, p. 249.

[118] The word "uzden" is of Tartaric derivation (Klaproth, *l. c.*).

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(b) *Uzden* of the second class i. e. "The Princely *Uzden*,"
1° The *Pshi*[118] or "Princely Guards"
2° The *Uork*

(c) *Uzden* of the third order, i. e., courtiers and messengers.

(3) The Freedmen, called *Azat* or *tfokotl*

(a) The *azats* who were freed by a prince or by a noble who had been raised to the dignity of nobility a long time previously.

(b) The *azats* who were set free by newly created and hence inferior nobles.

(4) The Serfs i, e., *Bshitl*[120]

(a) The *beslen bshitl*, i. e., domestics of the princely family.

(b) The labourers
1° labourers of the first class
2° labourers of the second class.

(5) The Slaves, called *nauts*.

Pallas estimates that there were about 10,000 commoners to about 1,500 *uzden*.[121]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. Of all Caucasians the *Chechens* are supposed to be the most democratic. At least that is their own conviction. "We are all *uzden*," they are fond of repeating, "everyone of us." The Chechens even have a legend according to which social classes are supposed never to have existed among them.[122] When they say they are *uzden* they of course do not understand a distinct class of nobles as do the neighboring Ossetes and the Cherkess. If you ask them what they mean they will answer, "We are all *uzden* because we are all free men; everyone of us is his own master; everyone of us is independent and free, as free as a wolf."

But the question is: Is there really only one class? Of course we are speaking of the conditions prior to 1867, before the Russians abolished slavery.

(1) A princely class has never existed among the Chechens, neither *de jure* nor *de facto*, except for a very short time. In the eighteenth century the Chechens invited a foreign princely family (the Turlovs) to bring order to Chechnia and to defend them against Kumykian and Kabardian raiders. It may very well have been that the Turlovs were actually forced upon the Chechens rather than invited. In any case, this princely family was considered as "intruders" and was driven out of Chechnia as soon as the natives were strong enough to

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[118] Cf. Maslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[120] J. Castagné, *l. c.* calls them "pehitli".

[121] Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise etc.*, I, p. 386.
Pokrovskij in his *Istoria Rossii v XIX vèkè* (after Castagné, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 f) distinguishes the social classes as follows: "Le pshilt ou prince suzerain; le *bèbkolt* ourvassal de 1er degré; le *beslen vouork* ou arrière-vassal; le *vouork* ou vassal en général; les ouzdènes ou valets, armés; *loganapouts* ou valets non armés, les *dunsouts* ou paysans et serfs de tous degrés."

[122] A. Rossikov, "Putešestvie po central'noj časti gornoj Čečni," ZKO, XVIII (1896), p. 140.
Leontovič, II, p. 80.
N. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 451.
V. P. Polidaev, *Gorcy severnago kavkaza*, p. 14.

defend themselves against the raiders from Kabardia and the Kumykian plains. The Turlovs[1] did not affect the social organization of the Chechens very deeply. After the ruling family[A] had been compelled to leave Chechnia, the mountaineers continued to live as classlessly as before ; each Chechen sib was a government in itself with little or no interest in the neighboring sibs.[124] In the *adat* collection of 1849 for the villages of Sunsha we read : " There is no special *adat* regarding the bride-price for princes because the inhabitants do not have any princes."[125]

(2) A perusal of any *adat* collection will convince us that *de jure* the Chechens do not have a nobility either. Thus, for example, in the collection of adats of 1844 of Vladikavkaz Province (the Dzher, Kists, Galgai, Tsori, Ingushi and Karabulaks) we read in § 2 : " No Chechen family has any privilege over any other family." *De facto* however there are influential families. Any family or sib may become more important than the others by manifesting extraordinary bravery or more especially by outnumbering the others.[126] Such families (or to be more exact, sibs) decide what is " wrong " and what is " right," what should be done and what should be left undone.

(3) There are actually two classes : the free and the slaves, the latter being mainly prisoners of war and captives taken in raids. Reineggs describes how in the eighteenth century the Chechens would mercilessly rob strangers and then demand a ransom. If the victim happened to be a fellow-Mohammedan, he naturally could not become a slave[127] if he failed to be ransomed, and consequently was murdered. On the other hand if the captive was a non-Muslim and was of a poor family that was unable to ransom him, he had to remain as a slave.[128] The adats distinguish between two classes of slaves, the *lai* and the *yasir*, the difference between the two being that the *yasir* could be ransomed while the *lai* could not.[129] But in spite of this difference the lot of the *lai* was not as unbearable as might seem at first sight. He was, practically speaking, more or less only a nominal slave, for, as a rule, he was declared free after some time or was *ipso facto* emancipated through marriage.[130]

The situation in Daghestan is much the same as among the Chechen tribes. On the whole the *Lesghians* are very democratic, virtually classless. Class division, wherever it existed, was not of Lesghian origin but was brought from without. It can be roughly sketched as follows.

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[124] Ladyženskij, " Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, VI (1930), pp. 441 ff.
N. Danilewski, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 141.
Leontovič, II, pp. 86, 114 § 2.
Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90.
Güldenstädt, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder etc.*, pp. 148, 153.

[125] Leontovič, II, pp. 114, § 2, 123, § 1.

[126] A. H. Günther, " Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325. Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 38. Engelhardt und Parrot, *Reisen in die Krym und den Kaukasus*, I, p. 243.

[127] An Islamic prohibition. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 38.

[128] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 40.

[129] Leontovič, II, p. 80. Berže, *Čečnja i Čečency*, p. 90. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. 1, p. 452.

[130] U. Laudaev, " Primečanja k statě čečenskoe plemja," SSKG, VI (1872), p. 52. Leontovič, *l. c.* Berže, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Byhan, *La Civilisation Caucasienne*, p. 191.

1 [foreign princely family invited to be rulers of the
A Chechens in the eighteenth century--Analyst]

[24] (1) Most of the Lesghian peoples were ruled by their own freely-elected elders independently of any prince. Of course, the Avars and the Laks had their khans,[131] while the Andi were subject to Kumykian and Avarian rulers.[132] After the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, chief native officials approved by the Military Government were known as *nā'ibs*.[133]

● 565 [614] (2) Despite the fact that the Lesghian peoples have been subject to a more or less foreign aristocracy—the gradation being khan, bek, uzden, commoner and slave—[134] the people themselves remained essentially classless. Interest centred mainly around one's own sib. What generally determined precedence among the different sibs was, just as among the Chechens, not noble birth but the size of the sib.[135]

(3) Commoners.

[567] (4) Slaves. Lesghian slaves were usually prisoners taken in war or raids.[136] On paying a ransom or after a 10-year service or on marrying a Mohammedan the slave would be emancipated.[137]

The SOUTHERN CAUCASIANS. The complexity of the Georgian social classes surpasses even that of the Cherkess, a fact of which a mere glance through King Vakhtang's Code will convince us.[138] It should be noted that the [193] clergy do not form a distinct class; rather their class is determined by their ecclesiastical rank. In the following outline we shall also indicate the approximate social rank connected with the various ecclesiastical dignities.

(1) The King. The crown is inherited by the first-born male child. The *Catholicos* i. e., Patriarch of Iberia, ranks immediately after the King. (King Vakhtang's Code § 25.)

(2) Princes:

(a) The princes of the first order *(didebuli thavadi)*. Archbishops. (§ 26)
(b) Princes of the second order. Bishops. (§ 27)
(c) Princes of the third order and archimandrites. (§ 28)

(3) Nobles *(Aznauri)*:

(a) *Aznauri* of the first order and priors with the function of an abbot. (§ 29)

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[131] Cf. Gadži-Ali, "Skazanie očevidca o Šamilě," SSKG, VII (1873), pp. 6.

[132] Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, II, p. 165.

[133] The word is derived from the Arabic *nā'ib*. The territory over which the naib was in charge we shall call "naibate". For an excellent description of a naib family see Halil Beg Mussayassul, *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, München, 1936.

[134] Cf. Svěčin, "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), p. 64.

[135] Cf. Essad-Bey, *Der Kaukasus, seine Berge, Völker und Geschichte*, p. 130.

[136] Klaproth, *Beschreibung der russ. Prov.*, p. 117.

[137] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87.
The social stratification of Daghestan has been treated in: A. Tomai, "Materialy k voprosu o feodalizme v istorii Dagestana," *Revoljucionnyj Vostok*, (Moscow, 1935), No. 5, pp. 116—137.

[138] Cf. Karst's edition, pp. 81—85.

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(b) *Aznauri* of the second order. Regular priests and monks. Merchants of the first order (mok'alak'is, i. e., "inhabitants of the city," usually rich Armenian families of merchants living in Tiflis.[139]

(c) *Aznauri* of the third order and landowners. Here we must include also the merchants of the second order and parish priests. (§ 31)

(d) Merchants of the third order and archdeacons. (§ 32)

(e) Merchants of the fourth order, peasants and artisans *(glekhi)*.[140]

East of the Cherkess, separating them from the Northeastern Caucasians, are the probable descendents of the Alans known as OSSETES. Social differentiation was practically unknown in Ossetia. The rank of "nobles" (*aldars* and *badilyats*) was found only among certain Ossete tribes such as those of Kurtatinsk and Tagaursk, and even in these cases the "nobles" did not enjoy any essential privileges. Among the other tribes there existed at the most an initial stage of social stratification.[141] The Alaghir were specially averse to social classes.[142]

Since it is quite probable that the Ossetes are a remnant of the Alans and Sarmatians, we might rightly ask whether social classes disappeared only in their later history or whether it is an ancient tradition. Moses of Chorene (A. D. 370—490) speaks in his *History of the Armenians* of the son of an Ossetine ruler. This prince, we are told, was captured in a battle between the Ossetes and the Armenians. This report, however, is not reliable, being based on mere legend.[143] Ammianus Marcellus (*Rerum gestarum*, xxxi. 2) seems to be closer to the truth when he writes: "All the Alans are equally of noble descent. They have no slaves." Tacitus indeed says that the Alans were "divided into small tribes and groups, each having a chief or prince," but, as Ladyženskij rightly points out, Tacitus is most likely referring here to the *elders* of each sib and not to princes in the strict sense.[144]

Before the abolition of slavery in the Caucasus the following four distinct classes could be found among the Tagaurians:[145]

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[139] Karst, p. 82, *note* 7.

[140] These classes existed in pre-Soviet times. The *eristhavi* or "heads of the people" (a class of nobles who held the position of provincial governors) disappeared much sooner. They used to be appointed by the King; the office however, once bestowed, could be passed down from father to son. Cf. Mourier, *Guide au Caucase*, I, p. 102.
The history of Georgian social classes has been studied by S. Danaïa, *Fedaluri revoluthia Sakarthveloši. Narkvevi tarmoiobis istoridan Sakarthveloši* (Feudal Revolution in Georgia. A Historical Sketch of the Origin of Feudalism in Georgia), Tiflis, 1935.

[141] N. F. Takoeva, "Kosta Chetagurov etc.," SE, 1949, No. 2, p. 121. Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), pp. 428 f.

[142] A. H. Günther, "Zusammenstöße zwischen Gesetz und Gewohnheitsrecht im nördlichen Kaukasus," *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtsw.*, XLVI (1931), p. 325.

[143] Ladyženskij, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Staates bei den kaukasischen Bergvölkern," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soz.*, VI (1930), p. 443.

[144] *ibid.*

[145] Dirr, AGKB, p. 79, *note* 117. Kovalevskij, *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 17—20. Leontovič, II, p. 9. B. V. Skitskij, *K voprosu o feodalisme v Digorii*, Ordžonikidze, 1953.

1 [Georgian noble -- Analyst]

565 [441] [193] [101]

565 (1) The upper class, known as *uzdenleg*, the *aldars*,[146] though forming a kind of nobility, cannot be compared with the Kabardian nobles because *any* Tagaurian sib could work itself up to the top of the social ladder through wealth or number.[147] In Digoria the upper class were known as *badulyats*.

(2) The middle class people or *farsagleg* were the free tenants.

595 (3) The *kavdassarts* were all those born of a secondary wife *(numulus)* or of a concubine. They formed what might be called a bondsmen's class.[148]

567 (4) The slaves or *gurziag (gurdziag)* is a word derived from "a Georgian," clearly showing that the slaves were mainly prisoners taken in war and raids.

We find similar social ranking among the neighbouring TURCO-MONGOLS. The Kumyks were formerly divided into three classes: (1) the nobles of the first, second, and third order *(uzden)*; (2) the bondsmen or *chagars*; (3) the slaves or *kuls*.[149] The Karachai used to be divided into four classes:[150] (1) the princes *(tav big)*; (2) nobles *(kara-uzden)*; (3) serfs *(ilgyly-kul)*; (4) slaves *(ilglysizkul)*. The Turkomans of Stavropol Government, while still nomads, were perhaps the most classless of all peoples inhabiting the Caucasus, even more so than the Alaghirs and the Chechens.[151] The Kalmucks are divided into three main social ranks: the nobles *(saisan)*, the clergy, and the commoners *(aimak)*.[152]

Now that we have learned the social ranks as they existed before the abolition of slavery in 1867, we are in a position to study the affects of social stratification on mating.

565 582 The NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS. We cannot help marvelling at the complicated ranking of the *Cherkess* society. When feudalism was at its height in Circassia, not only were inter-class marriages impossible, but even marriages between persons from different subdivisions of the same class and even between persons of different sub-subdivisions of the same subdivision. Thus a nobleman might not marry a girl unless her family had been raised to nobility about the same time as his.[153] A very similar situation prevailed in *Abkhazia*.[154]

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[146] They could own land and slaves.

[147] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 f.

[148] *Kavdassart* means literally "one born in a stable," while *numulus* means "a nominal or illegitimate wife."

[149] The bondsmen were originally free land-owners, who later became bondsmen by falling into debts which they were unable to pay off. As a result they became subject to their lords even much more than were the Ossetine *farsagleg*, for the latter had the right to abandon their masters while the *chagars* enjoyed no such right.
For more about the Kumykian social ranks see Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—37.

[150] For a full description of feudalism among the Karachai in the nineteenth century see E. N. Studeneckaja, "K voprosu o feodalizme i rabstve v Karačae XIX v.," SE, 1937, No. 2—3, pp. 45.

[151] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

[152] Zichy, *Kaukázusjæs középázsiai utazásai*, p. 30. (Part I.)

[153] Reineggs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 252. Longworth, *A Year among the* Circassians, I, pp. 228, 278.

[154] P. I. Kovalevskij, *Kavkaz, Narody Kavkaza*, p. 35.

1 n [among the Tagaurians in southern Caucasia--Analyst]

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It is true that a change in this ancient and once inviolable law has since taken place.[155] However, it would be wrong to imagine that under the strong Soviet influence of today all traces of a mating inpediment have necessarily disappeared. No doubt, a mating impediment no longer exists *officially*, but it is still observed in practice.[156]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. The *Chechens* chose mates with practically no concern about social rank. After all they had only two classes, the free and the slaves, and the latter could easily be emancipated by paying a ransom or even by marriage itself. Not the social rank as such but an appropriate bride-price was of importance.[157]

Strictly speaking, disparity of social rank did not constitute a mating impediment among the Lesghians either. In parts of Daghestan where the society was definitely stratified, marriages between members of different classes were indeed strongly discouraged but not to the extent that they were impossible.[158] About a hundred years ago Sveičin[159] observed that "an Avar khan may marry a daughter of a *bek*, a bek may marry a daughter of an *uzden*" and a commoner may marry a slave if the latter is willing to accept Mohammedanism. Sometimes a family of an upper class marries one of their sons to a girl of a lower class or a widow in order to acquire an additional worker or to replace a hired servant.[160] It is interesting to note the similarity between the Avarian "servant-wife" and the Ossetine *numulus*. In both cases the marriage is juridically valid, although inferior. In the case of the "servant-wife" the family encourage her husband to avoid and despise her. In both cases children born of the marriage inherit the social rank of the mother. In a word, marriages between individuals of different classes, though discouraged, are not prohibited. Dubrovin assures us that such marriages were only of rare occurrence in Ossetia.[161] The following table shows the rank of a child born of such interclass unions among the Ossetes.

The TURCO-TARTARS of the Caucasus insist on equality of rank.[162] Among the Nogai interclass marriages are extremely rare.[163]

In regard to the stringency of the rule we may, in conclusion, divide the entire Caucasus into three zones: (1) an Abkhaz-Cherkess-Georgian zone, (2) a Chechen zone and (3) a Lesghian zone. The most feudalistic society existed in the first zone and it was there that the impediment of disparity of social rank was insisted upon most of all. The "Chechen Zone" was the most classless

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[155] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 225.

[156] As Ladyženskij observed in 1927: "So z. B. sind wohl die Stände abgeschafft, aber einer der Beamten des Aulispolkom wurde entlassen, weil einer seiner Verwandten sich mit einer armen ehemaligen Adeligen verheiratet hatte... Klassenzugehörigkeit wird noch mit Standeszugehörigkeit verwechselt." (Ladyženskij, FT, pp. 191 f.)

[157] *Infra*, pp. 83 ff.

[158] Kovalevskij, *Zakon*, II, pp. 169 f.

[159] "Očerk narodonaselenija, nravov i obyčaev Dagestancev," ZKO, II (1853), pp. 54—65.

[160] N. L'vov, "Domašnjaja si semjnaja žizn etc.," p. 19.

[161] *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 329.

[162] In regard to Kumyks see Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 637, and Gadži-Magoma-Debirov, "Dagestanskija predanija i suevěrija," SMOMPK, IV (1884), No. 2, p. 31.

[163] Dubrovin, *Istorija*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 277.

TABLE 7*

Social Rank of Ossete Child of an Interclass Marriage

Mother → / Father ↓ · Child ↘	*uzden*	*farsagleg*	*kavdassart*	*gurziag*
uzden	uzden	kavdassart	kavdassart	gurziag
farsag.	farsagleg	farsagleg	farsagleg	gurziag
kavdasj.	kavdassart	kavdassart	kavdassart	gurziag?** kavdassart?
gurziag	gurziag	gurziag (in Tagaursk child free)	gurziag	gurziag.

* This table is based on data found in Kovalevskij's *Coutume contemp.*, pp. 202 f.

** Is it gurziag or kavdassart? There seems to be a contradiction: on page 202 Kovalevskij maintains: "Ne peut naître d'un père kavdassard qu'un kavdassard, quelle que soit sa mère... Les kavdassards peuvent acheter et posseder les gourziaks qu'ils ont achetés; mais les enfants de ces gourziaks seront kavdassards, et appartiendront au propriétaire du kavdassard, c'est-a-dire, à l'ouzdanelag." On page 203 we find: "Les fils et les fille d'une esclave sont toujours esclaves, et, commes tels, dépourvus de tout droit."

(and here we may also include the majority of the Ossete tribes) and least insistent on marriages exclusively within one's own class. In fact we can almost say that the prohibition is non-existent in Chechnia and in the greater part of Ossetia. The "Lesghian Zone" occupies a middle position between these two extremes.

5. Other Forms of Endogamy and Exogamy

We do not maintain to have exhausted the possibilities of endogamy-exogamy regulations. These possibilities, however, have been more or less overlooked by the explorers. We refer, for examples, to the marriage impediments arising from disparity of occupation, disparity of cult, disparity of nationality. We know, for instance, that the Kabardians freely intermarry with the Russians and Karachai,[184] and that they marry any non-Cherkess, especially if the other party is a Mohammedan or is willing to accept the Islamic religion,[185] but is that the situation everywhere in the Caucasus? Till more fieldwork is done, such questions will have to remain unanswered. Midwives are sometimes considered related to the new-born, but we do not know how widespread the custom actually is. In regard to the impediment of disparity of cult we know that the Koran, ii. 20 f admonishes the Muslim: "Marry not a heathen woman before she be converted: a believing slave is much better even if she doth not please thee... The heathen woman will lead thee to hell, but Allah calleth thee to Paradise..." How strictly do the Islamic Caucasians observe this precept? There are doubtless many more lacunae that only the trained and exact fieldworker can fill.

[184] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 191.

[185] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 198.